1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

or else had sent native emissaries, during the previous decade, and had enticed a dozen or more of the young men to leave with them to work either on plantations or in the gold fields. The old men had strongly opposed this because it put a great economic burden on them to have so many able-bodied men leave the tribe. Mothers feared that their sons would never return alive, sisters were left without brothers to help and protect them, and the young women were left with fewer lovers. On the positive side, however, the families of the recruited boys were given axes, knives, plane irons for adz celts, and other European articles which were extremely valuable to the Kwoma who had hitherto known only tools of stone, wood, and bone. Then the young men came back from their work with more tools and with money with which to buy pigs and shells from the river natives as well as with many tales of the wonders of white technology and the peculiarities of white customs. Yat, Kar, and Kis were the only ones to go from Rumbima.

When we arrived, therefore, white men were classed in two categories: government agents and recruiters.[28] The former were dangerous; the latter both annoying and useful. Since we arrived with the patrol officer, we were first classed as "government." Furthermore, since we came at a time when the patrol officer was trying to force runaways to return, many of the people of Hongwam believed that we were special emissaries sent to bring these fugitives to justice. It was not until we had lived in the community for four months that we even saw these young men. On the other hand, since we brought many boxes of supplies and trade goods, we were classed in part as recruiters. In fact, the older men continually warned us not to entice young men to leave the tribe with us. Wof put it: "Don't take Gwiyap and Mar to America with you. We need them to help with the work of the hamlet." Their fears came true, for when I left with a recruiter, Gwiyap, Mar, Mes, and four other boys "signed on" with

[28] The Kwoma had had so little contact with missionaries and traders that these people hardly formed distinct categories.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw* up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting.

Kwoma children participate in caring for the domesticated animals of their parents. They are given a small pig of their own to tend which they must feed, habituate to the dwelling, and teach to come at their call. Parents often give their child a puppy to pet and care for. A child calls his pets by the kinship term for *son* or *daughter;* the other members of the family refer to the pet by kin terms which accord with this relationship.

Fishing is considered by the Kwoma rather as a sport than as a serious activity. Girls participate in what little is done, often simply scooping fish from a swamp pool or mountain stream with their hands. Although men do not deign to waste their time fishing, boys sometimes accompany their mothers and sisters to the stream and join in the fun. Even as children, however, they feel that they somewhat demean themselves by doing this.

Children watch their parents make tools but do little such work themselves. Boys sometimes help their parents by fetching materials for various utensils, and girls begin netting bags before they reach adolescence, but otherwise toolmaking is restricted to older persons.

In general, the Kwoma child discovers that it is necessary to work to get food, and learns, in part by observation and in part by participation, the techniques that have been developed in the culture for producing it. He is forced to assume responsibility for some of this work, is allowed to help with

* A tropical fruit about the size, shape, and consistency of a small muskmelon.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

a blanket of leaves and cut up with bamboo knives.* The joints are cut with adzes. The mode of butchering differs considerably from the European technique, as the pig is divided in line with the jaws into a ventral and a dorsal half rather than along the backbone into a right and a left half.

A hunter who has killed a pig may eat none of its flesh himself lest he sicken and die. This restriction is parallel to the one placed upon the yam planters. The Kwoma believe that when a man kills a pig his own blood enters the animal; hence to eat its flesh would be to eat his own blood, an act which has the consequence of causing sickness and death. A man therefore uses the pork for one of the following purposes: to provide food for his family and relatives; to discharge a ceremonial obligation to a relative; to give a goodwill feast at his house tamberan to which all members of his cult section (*Y'enama* or *Minjama*) are invited; to provide food for one of the regular cult or age-grade ceremonies in order to gain prestige; to give a feast for the members of the sorcery court if a relative is sick; to provide for the second funeral feast for a deceased relative; to provide food for a work bee; or to trade with the river people for shell money. In the event that the pig is to be used for a feast, the whole animal is contributed and a soup is made in several large pots. What is not eaten is distributed to those present at the ceremony. If, however, the animal is to be given to relatives, there are specific rules which govern what part of the animal shall go to each of them. The *maternal uncle* receives the hams; the *paternal aunt* gets the second joints of the fore legs; the *sisters* are given the shoulders and brisket; *paternal uncles* receive the brain case and upper jaw; and the *brothers* get the hind trotters. The remainder—the backbone, hind and fore flanks, and the entrails—is kept by the hunter to provide meat for his immediate family.

This description of the use to which pork is put indicates that a man does not learn to hunt pigs in order to satisfy his

* Although the Kwoma now have steel knives, they prefer bamboo ones for butchering.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

231 injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay
224 an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog
231 is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will
[262] eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do
[608] so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism, since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other
[262] members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for
[766] ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural death, the women of the household may wail and watch over the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a tree in the forest.

• 412 Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils
[885] which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz[8] is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening, the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the vari-
[462] ous economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The technique of adz construction need not concern us here, except to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle, and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy. Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money.
[177] The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

415 The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic
[482] activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered,
[462] and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used
[286] only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare time manufacturing them.[9]

[8] The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hunger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

[9] As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique during adolescence.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

142 for their faces are drawn and their mouths turn down at the corners. The Waskûk on the other hand are big women. Their stomachs protrude before and their butts behind. Their bosoms are full to overflowing, and their round faces are usually split by an ear-to-ear grin. In skin colour they are noticeably lighter than the Yambons. Only one or two old women are present."

342 Yesterday afternoon (Nov. 12), I went down to Mar's house. It is a structure about eight feet high at the ridgepole with a fairly gentle slope to the roof which ends about two feet above the ground. The side walls and the back and front are made of sago bark sewed together. When dried, the bark is about the thickness and consistency of beaver board. About two thirds of the house is closed off by another wall of sago bark with only a small doorway about two by four feet, with the sill about a foot and a
353 half from the ground. This can be closed by a sago bark door. This door
342 is the only opening in the inner room, which is used for sleeping , storing their clay pots, their cooked sago, and their net bags. The latter are hung with a half coconut shell on the roof so the rats cannot get at them.
[592] In this room sleep Mar, his mother, his classificatory sister and two boys
[515] who are his classificatory brothers. They sleep with only a slab of sago bark between them and the ground. The beds are leaned up against the wall during the day. All of them sleep with their feet toward the door. Interestingly enough, Mar's wife sleeps in another house.

The third of the house not inclosed by this room acts as a sort of
[354] porch. Here a huge pot about two and a half feet in diameter and two feet
[262] high was braced up by stones over a fire and a sort of blood red soup made
[415] of a kind of bark and sago was bubbling. One of the boys dished out a half
[412] coconut full of this and ate it with a trade spoon. I noticed some spears
000

412 [482] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, 301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is 584 carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One 847 of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal 845 583 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny. 591

611 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted 595 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are 794 [532] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either [534] iniiena or yenema; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

123 at her embarrassment. I asked where Suw was, and they said that he was
[322] asleep. I saw a partly finished sugilewas (carved figure) roughly
[412] blocked out from a chunk of wood. All the work so far had been done with an adze. He had two--one with a bit about 3/4 inch wide and another 1½ inches. The finishing touches are done with a knife.

855 Suw woke up and came out and crawled into his mother's lap. I came back
123 into the porch and Suw was a little frightened and clung to his mother, held one of her breasts with one hand and put his head between her breasts. I playfully hit Haw on the tail with my walking stick, and Suw began to whimper. His mother held him close to her and soothed him and then laughingly explained to me that he was afraid because I had hit Haw. The ball rolled over to Suw and his mother, and she picked it up and handed it to him to throw which he did. Later it rolled over to the other side of the house, and the kids told Suw to go and get it. His mother spoke softly to him pointing toward the ball and urging him on with a little shove. He looked at it for a while and then turned back to his mother with his finger in his mouth and cuddled up to her.

262 Then it was time to eat. Haw brought War three pieces of rolled
123 boiled sago and a half dozen roast sugar cane sprouts. His wife then asked me if I would like a sago fritter. I said yes, so she tore off a piece and wrapped it around a roast sugar cane heart and gave it to Haw who brought it to me. It was quite good, the fritter rather rubbery, but the roast heart of sugar cane excellent.

593 I went back to Wof's. He was still in a dour mood and so was his wife; he snapped at Hay and at Owiyap's little sister for not making the sago properly. Wof's wife sent Hay for the chop sticks to make the sago.

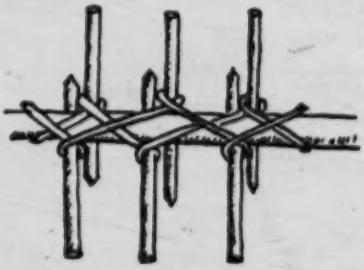
439 This morning just after dawn Bow went by in a hurry with cuscus fur
628 on his head and carrying two spears. Soon afterward, the gongs at Wenya
532 began the assembly call. This kept up for about fifteen minutes, several
534 gongs going at once and cries of He yano. The house boys did not know what it meant. Hay ran down to ask Wof who said that they were beating a "tunket" with Tangwishamp to exchange sugilewas (carved wooden figures). A few minutes later a very high-toned gong sounded, and they all jumped at this and ran out of the house saying that it was the "garamut bilong fight". Wof was coming up the hill and reassured them it was only the 'tunket' for exchange of sugilewas. Later (10:00) we heard distant gongs play the dance rhythm. Has and Ouiyap said that the meeting of Tangwishamp and Hongwam would take place at Hdowey house tamberan at Wambanj. (This morning they had said, convincing us it was not a fight, that had it been, there would have been many more people running by with spears. Everybody would have gone).

123 Afalawanj came in this morning and sold me a clay bird.
439 February 20, 1937. Tip left three days ago. War and Kar came around in the
114 evening. War had rubbed clay on his forehead which he explained he put
302 there because he was sorry Tip had gone. While they were here someone
123 called out from Wenya. They listened and then went out to where they could
457 hear better. Kumb had come too. The Wenya said that the Tangwishamps were bringing a pig in the next day and wanted to know if Hongwam wanted
[435] part of it. Wof joined in the discussion from his house. They decided they didn't want it because the Tangwishamp prices were too high.

628 The next day in the afternoon the Tangwishamps began drifting in;
[411] about a dozen men and women came and stopped in to look at our house. They
[412] carried no weapons except an occasional bone dagger or adze. They slept

342
335 Method for binding rafters to ridgepole

[284]



Rwaa nig, a room in which carved wooden images (sunilwaa) are stored is made of cross rafters bound to the porch rafters. The room extends from the partition at the central post about 8 feet out, has a palm spathe floor and partition of uprights laced with maratta leaves. The outside cross beam is supported by split liana cord to the yi tow (ridgepole extension). The room is open on the end facing into the house.

7. Akd lird (e) (stringer) set and attached.

8. Akd warunkw (k)(cross trees between ridgepole and binder to hold cap) fastened.

9. Yi tewd (g) (binder) attached.

10. Roofing. Palm spathes (ndofd) are most commonly used for roofing. Ndofokw fiju is preferred but less common and usually used for house tamberans

342 The leaves (4) are stacked one on top of another, butts and points alternating direction, folded in the middle over the palm spathe slat so that the new bundle slightly overlaps the previous bundle. The leaves are sewn with an

[412] [283] overhand back stitch-- the needle a sharpened hollow stick, the thread split liana. The slat to which the bundles are attached is made from a split areca palm trunk, about five feet long and one half inch square.

Gongs

534 [796] [202] 534 322 [412] [192] Gongs, used particularly at the yam cult ceremonies, are also used for calling people and signaling. Any given person may be called on the gongs by beating the signal of his father's sib followed by that of his mother.

In making a gong, the figure head is worked first and then the body is shaped. Very little wood is taken off as a large gong is desirable. The center is chipped out with a long handled chisel (yonkwn) and the sides scraped down with a scraper (asf). The scraper is worked by two men. One standing who pulls the scraper up and down, while the other stoops holding the scraper tight against the wood. While this is being done, the gong is sounded every once in a while to determine the thickness of the planking.

533 [192] Gong rhythms (ka represents left hand intermediate beat; gadgng represents low gong; gadang represents middle gong; gading represents high gong.)

nokwc laf

ka danga ka danga

donga donga danga gading

donga donga danga gading

dong gadong gading gadang

dong gadong gading gadang

nawfnio

gadang gadong gading

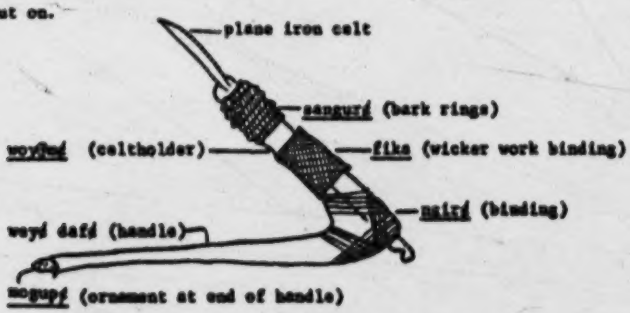
Tools

412
192

Adze (wore)

To make an adze, the celt holder (woyfuf) is shaped and split at the end. Preferred wood is wfudf (pidgin, kwild), but other wood is used. The handle has also been shaped and is made from any wood. A section is cut out, usually from a small tree where a small branch joins the larger or the main trunk, and is concaved to fit the slightly convex celt holder. A straight handle is preferred, but a slightly curved one is not disliked. The angle between the face and handle varies from about 50° to 70°. The iron celt (formerly stone) is slipped into the split in the celt holder. Bark rings (sangurf) which have been dried are slipped on from the top and forced down, holding the celt firmly in place. The wicker work is then woven into a sleeve and the handle is slipped into this. Hoops from prepared liana bark are also used to attach the handle to the celtholder. The hoop is measured to the collar of the celtholder by tying it in a half knot which is pulled tight. This is slipped off and the ends are tucked on either side of the loop until a twisted loop is formed four or five strands thick. The twists are laid carefully side by side, which causes the loop to thicken and therefore a lessening of the inner circumference so that the loop will jam when driven to the shoulder. When the handle has been attached, a final binding is put on.

[284]



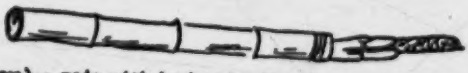
412
192

The handles for (adzes) wulya, especially those used to break up sago, are buried in the mud for a period of about two years. They become very hard and tough and have a high black polish. A stick (*[illegible]*) is also made this way and used in place of the stone blade for crushing sago pith. The cutting point is sharpened by pecking with a pig's tusk scraper into a cup shaped point. The wood is extremely hard after burying so it is shaped before putting it into the water.

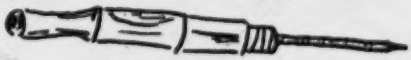
412
192

hammer (aboubo) -- made from heavy hard wood

coltholder (wayind)-- made with bamboo holder, plane iron colt



chipper (yonkwo)-- made with bamboo handle, iron rod with wedge chisel point. Handle about four feet long.



scraper (asi) -- bamboo handle, celt stone, about three and a half feet long.

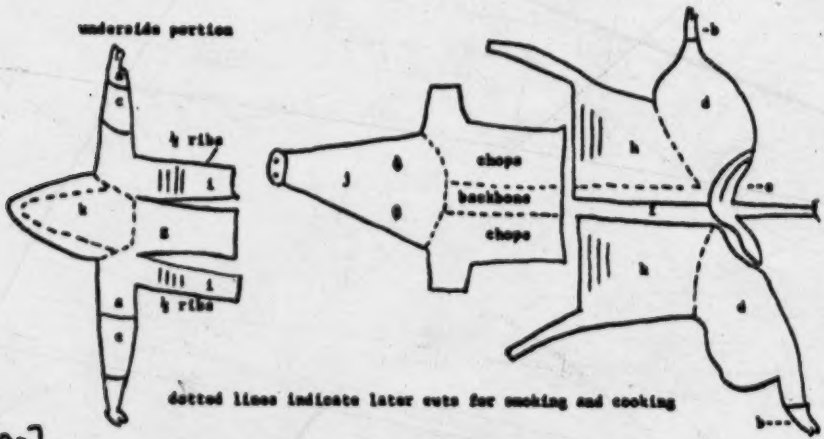
chipper (yonkwo)-- bamboo or wooden handle, plane iron chipper, attached by split liana cord (fiki) hoops, about three feet long.

chipper (yonkwo)-- made with wooden handle, attached by hoops.

Butchering a Pig

231
252
[412]

All the cutting is done with bamboo knives which are very efficient. About a half dozen knives, each eight inches long and one inch wide were prepared. The bones are broken with an ax. The hair or skin is not removed. The figure below illustrates the cuts of a butchered pig, how it is cut and labels the definitions which follow.



[192]

a. trotters-front (taʔí wbeyukerí)
b. trotters-hind (yatí ajoukwrí)
c. 2nd joint of forelegs (toiʔhaʔí)
d. 2nd joint of backlegs (kwaʔhwaʔ)
e. tail and tenderloin (kinyí sʔkí)
f. backbone (nangrí)
g. breast (kaku jokwinyí)
h. rear flanks (kokupaiʔ)
i. fore ribs (neri)
j. upper jaw and brain case (nesʔkí)
k. lower jaw (kwajung)

276 562 183 While smoking is taboo to women a few, but not many were observed smoking. On one occasion, when offered cigarettes by the investigators, the women were refused by their husbands. And on another occasion, another man was observed offering a cigarette butt to one of his daughters.

249 412 [192] Split bamboo tobacco dryer (hind [illegible])